1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. [461] The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [527] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-[437] bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts [184] a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in [777] Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V [292] [562]

G V 764 152 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[33]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

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mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
●292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
512 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing;
[221] and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and
221 his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 3 EH1 Greece EH1
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Clothing

178 291 [511] [292] [427] Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 [177] [360] [626] [292] [177] Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 [184] [511] [302] There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay. Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the [765] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the [554] outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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Vasilika

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths.

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement.

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself.

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house.

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional methods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

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In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

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The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

[861]

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
292 ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
648 poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
541 Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

796 The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
541 of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
536 which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
522 incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
535 women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
621 *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora.* Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos, sirtos,* and *tsamikos,* danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat, almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?"

receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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VII Constantinos Photis

[facing p. 158]

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VIII The phelonion

[facing p. 159]

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XV

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God.

Canons of 1604

The parson's apparel . . . plain but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell.

GEORGE HERBERT

CAVALLA, the ancient Neapolis, where St. Paul first set foot on European soil, is a flourishing port, the chief centre for exporting the tobacco grown on the rich coastal plains of Thrace and Macedonia east of the river Strymon, the gateway to the Plain of Gold which stretches from the marshes of Philippi to the mountains to the northward of Drama. Great stone warehouses surround the harbour and give an air of solid commercial prosperity to the town, which boasts, moreover, two cinemas, a restaurant with plate-glass windows and chromium fittings, and a remarkable town hall in Hungarian baroque, apart from lesser amenities. Yet the pedestrian who pauses for breath after scrambling up the steps which give access to the metropolis, or who through some narrow break in the line of warehouses gazes out across the busy harbour and the waters of the Aegean, may observe—faint and barely discernible at midday, sharper and more clearly defined at dawn and towards sunset—a distant triangle rising from beyond the sea's rim: Aghion Oros, the holy mountain of Athos, "that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an Ile; and it is lxxvi Myle betwene".

Thence, as from another world, come occasional caiques manned by singular bearded figures in black gowns and tall cylindrical caps;

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mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

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Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmafchion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skoufos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the

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milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members.

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos.

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet".

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of

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793 292 [113] the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments. [822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

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mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949-50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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Pontikonisi and the Nuns' Island

We came out from the olive-groves on to the lagoon-edge and, rounding a corner, saw before us the two celebrated islands—the Nuns' Island with its modest little church and tiny red-roofed cottages, and Pontikonisi with its monastery and pointed cypresses. Pontikonisi is held by some to be the ship of Ulysses, whereas others favour the claims of the rival islet off the northern coast which, to tell the truth, much more nearly resembles a ship than does Pontikonisi. Behind the two islands, fading away into the blue distance, stretched the southern portion of Corfu. On the far horizon the mountains of Greece were faintly visible. The nearer Greek coastline was hidden by the promontory of Kanoni.

A ferryman rowed us across the lagoon entrance and we continued our walk up a hillside splashed with the scarlet of poppies and the purple of a very beautiful variety of pimpernel which grows in profusion all over the island. Broom in full flower struck a vivid note of yellow, as did the ubiquitous sage plant. The path ran through terraced olive groves giving delightful glimpses of sea and mountain, and eventually brought us out on to the Gastouri road just below the village. Postponing our visit to the Achilleion, we went to a little inn calling itself the Hotel L'Europe and, in a garden overgrown with wild flowers and shaded by loquat trees laden with fruit, lunched at our leisure.

Gastouri is celebrated for the good looks of its women and for the beauty of the local costume. The native dress, however, is only worn on Sundays and feast-days, and we did not see it. The married women, as they do elsewhere

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

292 [302] in the island, encircle their heads with an enormous roll of extra hair bound with red ribbon. This curious adornment —let me resist the obvious pun!—is an heirloom, and consists of hair which at one time belonged to a grandmother or other female ancestor. It is as much a visible sign of the married state as the ring is with us.

MARRIED WOMAN, GASTOURI

361 312 The chief feature of the village[1] is a very old well surrounded by enormous plane trees of unknown antiquity. Here we watched the Gastouri girls coming for water, dawdling at the well's edge, and departing homeward with great jars of shining pottery—successors to the amphoræ of classical times—balanced on their heads. The painter in search of a subject, in whatever part of the world he may happen to be, can always find one at a well.

1 [i.e. Gastouri --- Analyst]